

**THIRTY-SIXTH**  
**ANNUAL REPORT**

**OF THE**  
**AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,**

**WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE**  
**BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND OF THE SOCIETY;**

**AND THE ADDRESSES**  
**DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,**

**January 13, 1853.**

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## AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

JANUARY 18th, 1853.

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Decease of Officers of the Society.—Review of the past year.

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SINCE our last Anniversary, the HON. HENRY CLAY, *President*, and the HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, one of the *Vice Presidents* of this Society, have departed this life. It is not for us to add anything to the tribute of respect which the country and the world have paid to their memory.

Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Esq., for many years a member of the Executive Committee of the Society, closed his earthly labors, the 6th of May, greatly beloved and deeply lamented by us, and by a wide circle of friends.

In view of bereavements like these, we desire to recognize our obligations to "that hand, unseen, which holds us up, that eye which kindly watches all our path," and that gracious agency to which we are indebted for all the success which has crowned our enterprise.

The history of our labors during the past year, presents no particular event, whose imposing magnitude attracts unusual consideration. We have encountered the ordinary measure of trial and embarrassment; of succor and success. A general review, however, will produce in every mind, the conviction, that the operations

of this Society are growing in strength and usefulness with every passing year. Every new development in the condition of the African race, and their relations to the rest of mankind, illustrates the complicated bearings of our work, and gives promise of ulterior results, which awaken our admiration and command our esteem! Every single instance of colonization, demonstrates the rectitude of the principles of the Society, and its wonderfully diversified capacities of good. The aggregate of what it has done the past year, and in all past time, stamps upon it the character of the broadest benevolence, bestowing blessings upon millions, capable of reversing the dark destiny of a continent, and stretching its results over all future time.

The following statement shows the number of emigrants which have been sent to Liberia during the past year.

The brig *Julia Ford* sailed from *New Orleans*, the 31st Jan., with 47 emigrants, from the southern and southwestern states. Twelve of them were *born free*; eight purchased their own freedom, and twenty-seven were emancipated by different persons in Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana. On their arrival in Liberia, nine of them were located

## Sailing of Emigrants.

in the Kentucky settlement, on the St. Paul's river, and thirty-eight in the county of Sinou.

The barque *Rolph Cross* sailed from Norfolk, Va., the 5th of May, with 126 emigrants, of whom 21 were from New Jersey, 1 from Pennsylvania, 1 from Maryland, 1 from the District of Columbia, 48 from Virginia, 16 from North Carolina, 11 from Georgia, 2 from Mississippi, 1 from Ohio, and 22 from Missouri.—Forty-four of them were born free, five purchased their own freedom or were purchased by their friends, and seventy-seven were emancipated by different persons, in order that they might go to Liberia. They were all located at Buchanan, in Grand Bassa county.

The brig *Oriole* sailed from New York, the 4th of Oct., with 37 emigrants, and three citizens of Liberia who had been on a visit to this country. They were all born free excepting two. They were destined to the St. Paul's river, Mesurado county. For the fitting out of this expedition we are indebted to the agency of the New York State Colonization Society.

The barque *Joseph Maxwell* sailed from Wilmington, N. C., the 22d Nov., with 148 emigrants, and two citizens of Liberia. Of these 105 were from North Carolina; 36 from South Carolina; and seven from Georgia. One hundred and twenty-five were born free, two purchased their freedom, and twenty-one were emancipated. One remarkable and interesting fact deserves to be mentioned, in connection with this expedition. Nearly all those who went from North Carolina, were the friends of Marshall Hooper and his wife, who went to Liberia in the early part of the year 1849, and returned last spring to visit his friends and tell them of Liberia. And as the result, they made their ar-

rangements, and went with him to try their own fortunes there. He lives in the Virginia settlement, on the St. Paul's river, and they will be located in that vicinity.

The *Linda Stuart* sailed from Norfolk, Va., the 27th Nov., with 171 emigrants; of whom 1 was from New Jersey, 2 from Washington City, 129 from Virginia, and 39 from North Carolina. One hundred and sixty-two of them were born free, eight purchased their freedom, and one was emancipated. This company are all to be located on the St. Paul's river, in the vicinity of Millsburg, with the view of strengthening that old settlement, and making preparatory arrangements for establishing a new settlement in the interior, as soon as circumstances will permit.

The barque *Shirley*, which sailed from Baltimore the 27th Nov., under the auspices of the Maryland Colonization Society, carried two emigrants, sent by this Society: one from Lafayette, Ind., and the other from Hollidaysburg, Pa.

The brig *Zebra* sailed from New Orleans the 31st December, with one hundred and thirty-seven emigrants, including two citizens of Liberia, who, after a few months' visit to Tennessee, were returning to their homes in Liberia with some of their friends. Of this number, twenty-three were born free, fifteen purchased their own freedom, or were purchased by their friends; and ninety-seven were emancipated by different persons in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. About eighty-five of this company will be settled in Sinou county, and the others in the Kentucky settlement, on the St. Paul's river.

The whole may be thus stated in a form convenient for reference:

## Statement of the number of Emigrants.—Prospects of the Republic.

Vessels.	Sailed from	Time of Sailing, 1852.	Born free.	Emancipated.	Purchased themselves.	Number of Emigrants.
1 Brig Julia Ford,	New Orleans,	Jan. 31,	12	27	8	47
2 Barque Ralph Cross,	Baltimore,	May 1,	44	77	5	126
3 Brig Oriole,	New York,	Oct. 4,	35	2		37
4 Barque Joseph Maxwell,	Wilmington, N.C.	Nov. 22,	125	21	2	148
5 Barque Linda Stewart,	Norfolk, Va.,	Nov. 27,	162	1	8	171
6 Barque Shirley,	Baltimore,	Nov. 27,	2			2
7 Brig Zebra,	New Orleans,	Dec. 31,	23	97	15	135
			403	225	38	666

It will thus appear that the whole number sent out this year is six hundred and sixty-six.

They have already become incorporated with the settled population; they have made the land of their father's their land; they are the holders of real estate there, and they have an interest in the government, and all that concerns the welfare of the country.

They are new in all the privileges and responsibilities of their new position.—They are inexperienced, and have much to learn. The field, however, is fairly opened to them. They stand side by side with the oldest citizens of Liberia and their children who have been born there, with equal rights and responsibilities.—They have entered into the labors of the early emigrants to Liberia, reaping their fruits; and aiding to establish and carry forward the results thereof.

Liberia is now in a condition to receive and care for a much larger number of emigrants yearly. She has the territory on which to plant them—the sphere of usefulness for them to fill—and the moral influences to throw around them. The preparation has been made. No one now can believe that the thing is impracticable. It can be done. It has been fairly commenced—the foundation has been laid, deep and strong—the elements of society have been organized and compacted—a

well ordered and free republic has been established—schools and churches, and all the institutions of civilized life have been created—a few thousand emigrants have been taken from their deep depression here, wafted across the ocean and planted on the margin of an immense continent—their influence is fast stretching along the shore, and penetrating the interior—the forest is vanishing before them—the wilderness is becoming a fruitful field, and the deep darkness which, for uncounted ages, has hung heavy over the land, has begun to recede! From their present proud elevation they may, undaunted, look out upon the broad face of day, **CONSCIOUS FREEMEN!** Before them is opened the most extensive prospect of usefulness, fair as the morning spread upon the mountains—a land of promise to their scattered race.

All the events which have transpired in the history of Liberia during the past year, illustrate and establish these convictions.

In his last annual message to the Legislature, President Roberts says:—"We have abundant cause for congratulation and thankfulness, that our land has been exempted from the visitation of any pestilential disease, and that, in the general, a remarkable degree of health has been preserved to its inhabitants.

"The agricultural departments of the

## Testimony with regard to the condition of the settlers.

country were never more encouraging than at the present time; commerce is also rapidly increasing, both in the variety and quantity of the articles of export; and I am happy in being able to inform the Legislature that a decided improvement, in the several towns and villages of the republic, is every where observable. Indeed every fundamental interest of the Government and people seem to bear the impress of Divine favor and approbation." In his inaugural address, he says: "I venture to assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that no country under the wide spread Heavens can boast a more law-abiding people than the people of this Republic." Captain Andrew H. Foote, late commander of the U. S. brig "Perry," connected with the African Squadron, in a letter dated 23d April, 1852, says: "the religious character of Liberia presents a very favorable aspect. I attended church myself frequently, when in Monrovia, and heard sound practical sermons, which as intellectual efforts, would have done no discredit to the pulpit in this country. I visited Liberia free from all prejudices against colonization, and equally free from all pre-judgments in its favor—determined to see and examine for myself; and after frequent personal intercourse with the people, looking at the country, its resources—observing the character of the Liberian mind—the influence of the schools, churches, and arts of civilization, on the great numbers of uncivilized heathen around them—I came to the deliberate conclusion, that Liberia has the strongest claims upon christian aid and sympathy, while it presents commercial advantages to our country, which will far counterbalance the amount expended by private benevolence in planting and aiding the colony and the Republic. The growth of Liberia having been gradual and healthy;

the government firmly established, as its entire and successful administration for several years, by the blacks themselves, has abundantly proven, the country now is in a condition to receive as many emigrants as we can send her."

The Rev. Eli Ball was early in the year sent to Liberia by the Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, to investigate and report on the condition of Liberia. The *Savannah Daily Georgian* says: "he is a minister of high standing in the denomination to which he belongs, and his interesting statements are doubtless entirely trust-worthy." He says: "I was kindly received in their pleasant dwellings; I ate at their tables; I saw them at their business and in the house of God at worship. If well built houses, tables furnished with the necessities, and some of the luxuries of life; dresses comfortable and fashionable, and good farms in the country, furnish proof of families being above want, then are those in Greenville above want? I did not see, nor did I hear of one, even one, that was poor in the common acceptance of that word,—From among these colonists, teachers and preachers are being raised up, who, at no distant period may, and I trust they will, be instrumental in accomplishing a great amount of good to long neglected Africa."

The *Liberia Herald* says: "The crops of the year are superabundant. The quantity of palm oil brought into market this year exceeds all former experience. Camwood is returning and flowing to its former plentifulness, in the channels, which for years it had abandoned. The farms of our people this year are larger and better prepared than at any year preceding, so that on every side the prospect brightens. We notice with much pleasure the improvements that have been made and are now being made, at the place selected for

## The maintenance of the laws of the Republic.

the "New York Agricultural Association," to which the Government made a donation of six hundred acres of land.

These extracts are sufficient to show that Liberia has honorably maintained her position as an independent State; and that amid innumerable difficulties, her course has been onward!

To some of the difficulties which she has had to encounter, it is important that we should allude in this connection.—Among the most prominent of these is the Grando war. Late in the last year a Fishman, named Grando, instigated, no doubt, by those who had been engaged in the slave trade, in and about New Cess, collected a formidable force, and made a desperate attack upon the township of Bassa Cove; they burnt the houses erected at the new settlement near Fish town, murdered nine of the inhabitants, and plundered the neighborhood of every thing. There was every evidence to show that this was only the beginning of the work of destruction which was contemplated by Grando and his allies. As soon as President Roberts heard of these outrages, he assembled his legal advisers, and the result was that immediate steps were taken to defend their citizens. It is supposed that Grando's force amounted to five thousand effective men. The President marched against them with five hundred and fifty Liberians, and about the same number of native troops. Without detailing the incidents of the conflict, which was a desperate one, suffice it to say, the Liberians were victorious. President Roberts in his despatch says, "we had to contend against fearful odds; but the hand of Divine Providence was on our side, and we gloriously triumphed." Again he says, "I exceedingly regretted the necessity of this campaign, but it could not be avoided. The effect, however, will be

most salutary. It will convince the aboriginal inhabitants of every part of the Republic, of the ability of the government to maintain the majesty of the laws, and punish crime whenever committed within its jurisdiction. And the result of this campaign will not only convince the natives of the power of the government to maintain its authority, but also certain foreign traders, who have openly inculcated a feeling of opposition among some of our neighboring tribes."

Subsequent events have shown that he was right in these opinions, for since that time, all the tribes bordering upon their territories, as well as those under their jurisdiction, have remained in quietness and friendship, and the influence of the Government has been effectual in settling some long and bitter hostilities between different native tribes. President Roberts in his message says: "Generally from a conviction that we consider them a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the natives is daily gaining strength. Constant applications are being made to the government to supply them with school teachers, and with other qualified persons to reside among them, to instruct them in the civilized modes of agriculture and the mechanic arts."

The independence of Liberia has been formally recognised during the past year, by the Prussian Government, and also by Brazil, which has a Chargé d'Affaires residing at Monrovia, and President Roberts has received assurances that two or three other European governments are about to extend this act of justice and comity. He hopes still that the United States government will do the same. In his last annual message he says: "we have cause, however, still to regret that the United States government has not yet seen fit to acknow-

## President Roberts' recent visit to Europe.

ledge the independence of this Republic. And though we are not insensible of the cause of this delay, still we had every reason to hope and expect, notwithstanding the peculiar institution of that country, that it would have been among the first to extend to us the friendly hand, to welcome Liberia among the family of nations. I am happy that we have still grounds for hope, that the United States Government will not much longer withhold this token of friendship. We have also good grounds for belief that she will even do more—that she will aid this infant State, pecuniarily, in her efforts to introduce into Africa the blessings of civilization and christianity.”

Renewed evidences of the continued and increasing favor and friendship of both England and France, have been given during the past year.

Complaints had for some time been made against the revenue laws of Liberia by British traders on that coast. Some of these traders also claimed to own certain plats of land within the territorial limits of Liberia. For the adjustment of these with other matters, President Roberts visited England and France. In his dispatch dated London, 16th October, he says: “I am happy to say that all the subjects which have claimed attention here have been arranged and settled quite to my satisfaction. The most important, and the one that has produced most of the difficulty we have had with British traders—the right of sovereignty over certain tracts of territory—is now put at rest. Her Majesty’s government has acknowledged the right of the Liberian government to exercise political jurisdiction over the tracts of territory ceded by the native chiefs, especially those marked upon the maps of Liberia constructed by British officers.” He also says that the government had kindly placed at his dis-

posal a vessel to carry him to Liberia.

He, when in France, received marks of distinguished consideration. He gives the following account of an interview which he had, by special invitation, with Louis Napoleon: “He (the Prince) said he felt great interest in the effort which was making in Liberia to test the capacity of the African race for self-government; and that he was well pleased at the progress which had been made there; and that the new State would be sustained by every practicable means by the French government. And in proof of his good wishes, upon my application for a few hundred stand of arms, uniforms, &c., &c., for our militia, and a small gun brig, the Prince readily consented to supply the arms, &c., and said he would speak with the Minister of Marine respecting the vessel. On returning to Paris, the Minister for Foreign Affairs assured me that all I asked for would be granted; the Minister of Marine was absent, to return in a few days, and that I should hear from him through the French Embassy at London.”

“I have now only to add that the interest in favor of Liberia, both in England and in France, is daily increasing. By the government and people of both countries I have been received in the most kind and flattering manner.”

In view of these and other facts which might be mentioned, we hazard nothing in saying that Liberia has gained more rapidly on the confidence and esteem of the world than any other colony with whose history we are conversant. The generation is now living, and some of them are present this night, who took part in the first efforts to plant Liberia, and already she has taken rank among the nations of the earth, free, independent and equal.

## The moral influence of the Liberians.

We may also remark that Liberia is not only one of the most *rapid*, but she is also one of the most *interesting* germs of national growth, which the world has ever seen. The feeling which animates the great majority of her citizens, is worthy of all commendation. They possess a courage, and a self-devotion which have carried them through many trying places, and still give promise of future improvement. Despondency has no home in their hearts. They have breasted, with noble resolution, the various obstacles which have been thrown in their way. When their means were small and their resources inadequate to their emergencies, they have made personal sacrifices, and performed additional services.

In the progress of communities as of individuals, interest and benevolence, are closely allied. Emphatically has this been illustrated in the personal history of the earlier and the later emigrants to Liberia, and in Liberia itself. They have secured the highest benefits to themselves; at the same time they are the pre-eminent benefactors of their race. They have come into the possession of a substantial inheritance; they have come also as the acknowledged harbingers of good to a benighted continent. They are making positive advancement in personal industry, intelligence and wealth, and they are by the very same process developing the agricultural and commercial resources of the country. They are acquiring increased ability to act for and govern themselves—to build up the institutions of education and religion; with these very elements of culture, and rudiments of Christianity, they prove themselves the best missionaries, the most efficient of teachers, to the heathen, by whom they are surrounded. They are thus, amid all their perplexities and discouragements,

discharging a high duty to themselves and their race, and winning undying honors, as the benefactors of Africa. They have re-possessed and begun to regenerate the land of their progenitors, to repair her broken and decayed fortunes, and re-kindle her long extinguished lights.

The establishment and growth of such a community, on that dark continent, such a model of a nation, is an order of things wholly new to Africa, and gives promise of future greatness, on which the world may well look with admiration!

While Liberia is thus rising in strength and importance, and receiving the favorable consideration of governments abroad, it is gratifying to find, that she is gaining friends in the land that gave her birth.

The great importance of this work, is forcing itself upon one after another of the State Legislatures.

It is with peculiar pleasure that we record the fact, that New Jersey has taken the lead among the free states, in making an appropriation of \$1,000 a year, for two years, to aid in sending to Liberia such portion of her free colored population as may desire to emigrate. The act passed the legislature early in March last, and gave great satisfaction throughout the state. The language of a distinguished individual alluding to it, expresses the feelings of many others. He said, "I feel proud of my native state for this evidence of her interest in this noble enterprise. The endowment is not large, but its moral effect will be most salutary. It clearly shows that our citizens are manifesting a more benevolent and patriotic desire to benefit the Colonization cause." The bill passed by large majorities in both branches of the legislature. The appropriation is to be applied specifically to the removal of her own free colored people, who are probably as highly favored in their present



## State appropriations for Colonization.

position as any others in any part of our country; and its bearings therefore upon the great question of their relative condition here and in Liberia are very important. It is worthy of remark, that the sum appropriated is as large for New Jersey, in proportion to the number of her colored people, as a much larger sum would be for many of her sister states. Hitherto but few of her colored population have been disposed to emigrate. Since the appropriation was made, we have sent emigrants enough to call for the whole appropriation for this year, which we have already received from the State Treasury. Others are preparing to emigrate. Additional and larger appropriations will be needed; and we have been assured that the state will nobly come up to the work, and do whatever ought to be done.

The Legislature of PENNSYLVANIA soon after followed the example which New Jersey had set, and appropriated \$2,000 to be applied to defraying the expenses of emigrants from that state.

The General Assembly of INDIANA in fulfilment of the requirements of her new constitution, passed a bill placing \$5,000 at the disposal of the state authorities for the purpose of purchasing territory in Liberia, and colonizing the free colored people residing within her borders. She also adopted some rather stringent measures to prevent the further increase of that class of her population by immigration from her

neighboring states. We regret that there are some provisions in the act making the appropriation, which will render it impossible to make the whole amount thereof immediately available. We trust however, that some satisfactory adjustment of the policy will shortly be made.\*

The legislature of Maryland has renewed her liberality, and has again taken high rank in the practical and effective application of legislative aid, in forwarding the enterprise of colonization. She has made another appropriation of \$10,000 a year, for six years, to aid the society of that state. This appropriation is free and unembarrassed by any restrictions or limitations, and is therefore applicable to cover the whole actual expenses of colonising such persons as desire to emigrate from that state.

The legislature of Louisiana, adopted at their last session the following preamble and resolution on the subject:

"Whereas, the people of Louisiana, feeling a deep interest in the cause of African Colonization, and that the success of that great and patriotic enterprise, deeply involves the best interests of the state,

"Therefore, *Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, in General Assembly convened,* That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their best exertions to promote the success of that great enterprise: first, by urging on the General Government such

\* Gov. Jos. A. Wright in his late message remarks:

"In pursuance of an act of last session, a correspondence has been opened with President Roberts, of Liberia, on the subject of acquiring territory, for the settlement of the free blacks, who may desire to emigrate from Indiana. Sufficient time has not elapsed to receive an answer, but a favorable one is expected. No perfect organization of the state board has yet been made under the law, as it is not yet in force.

"It is gratifying to know that Indiana is the first state in the Union that has authorized a state organization, for the purposes of colonization, and in that capacity has opened a correspondence with that republic, and thereby recognised it as one of the independent nations of the earth. While the principal nations of Europe have recognised the independence of Liberia, it is matter of astonishment, that up to the present time, our Government, that should have been the first to welcome her into the family of nations, has remained silent."

## Movements in Alabama, Connecticut, and New York.

a donation of land, or an appropriation of money, as will aid in removing the free people of color, with their consent, from the United States to Liberia, in Africa.—Secondly, by using their best efforts to promote what is usually called the “Ebony Line,” in transporting the said free people of color to the Republic of Liberia, and to increase the commercial facilities between the United States and Western Africa, through the medium of Liberia.” This resolution was adopted by very large majorities in both branches of the Legislature. The people of the State generally, highly approved of the course recommended, and would this day be greatly rejoiced if Congress would undertake the work in such form as the resolution embraces.

In Alabama, a State Colonization Society has been organized by many of the leading men, and a very able address adopted, to the people of the State on the subject, setting forth the great importance of colonization, and aiming to convince them that it is entitled to their sympathy and patronage. They close their address thus: “Do we mistake our countrymen, in supposing they will give us, in the only feasible plan for the accomplishment of an object which self-interest, religion, and philanthropy, alike demand? We are satisfied we do not, and therefore confidently and earnestly solicit their aid. Come forward, then, fellow-citizens, and join us in urging forward this cause of our country and of humanity.”

The Legislature of Connecticut, having their attention called to the subject by the Governor in his message, an able report and several resolutions were adopted in favor of it, which close thus: “Finally, the past history and the present prospects of the cause, afford most encouraging indications of its future prosperity. The

last year has been one, in many respects, of unprecedented success:

“Resolved, That the American Colonization Society happily unites Christian philanthropy and political expediency—our obligations to the Union and to God; and that its principles and operations are most benevolent, not only towards our colored population, but towards both races in this country, and towards two quarters of the globe.”

This is all good as far as it goes; but it needs just one more resolution to make it perfect. None can be at a loss to understand that the tenor of that resolution should be an *appropriation*; and we doubt not that it will ere long be adopted. It will meet a hearty concurrence in the State and in the country.

The Legislature of New York at their last session, had the subject brought before them by a stirring appeal of the Governor, in which he remarks: “A cause so beneficent, identified with the lasting welfare of two of the great races of mankind, rises high above the party contests of the day, and appeals with resistless force to the justice and humanity of the whole American people. I hope to see it sustained by the liberal action of the national government, seconded by contributions from several of the States. I submit the whole subject to your enlightened consideration, in the firm belief that upon a full examination of its merits, you will deem it in accordance with justice and policy, and an enlightened public sentiment, to manifest your approval of the cause by a liberal appropriation for the furtherance of its benevolent designs.”

We are sorry to say that as yet no final action has been taken by the Legislature on the subject. We are, however, assured that the subject will not be allowed to sleep.

States of Ohio, Tennessee, and Georgia.—Exploration of the interior of Africa.

The Legislature of Ohio have now before them a joint resolution to instruct their Senators in Congress, and to request their Representatives, to use their influence to secure the passage of the colonization measure, familiarly known as *Stanly's Bill*; and to obtain an acknowledgment of the independence of the Republic of Liberia.

The Legislature of Virginia is very earnestly urged by many of its members, and by leading citizens throughout the State, to make such a modification of their appropriation as will render it more extensively applicable to the purposes for which it was originally made. Such an alteration is very desirable, and from what is known of the views and feelings of the friends of the cause in that State, we have reason to hope that it will be made.

In several other States measures have been adopted which contemplate appropriations by their Legislature. In Tennessee many memorials have been numerously signed. In Georgia, many leading and influential gentlemen have expressed the opinion that the State would very soon provide money to pay the expenses of any and all of her free colored people who would consent to emigrate to Liberia.

One of the most important measures which is now before the country for the advancement of colonization, is the bill introduced by the Hon. Edward Stanly, of North Carolina, in the House of Representatives, which provides for the payment to the several States of the "fourth instalment of the deposits of public moneys directed to be made with said States, by the act approved June 23, 1836."—The passage of this bill by Congress would place at the disposal of the States for purposes of colonizing their free colored people, and providing for their welfare, \$468,360.75 annually.

It is our privilege to know that the Executive department of our government entertain the highest sense of the value of our enterprise, and desire to extend to Liberia their countenance. As an evidence of this, we may quote the language of the President in his last annual message to Congress, where he says, "incipient measures have been taken towards the reconnoissance of the Continent of Africa, eastward of Liberia." We have long desired that this work should be undertaken. It is a matter of great importance to our home operations, and the progress and enlargement of Liberia. All the interests of commerce and civilization are intimately associated with it. For centuries the interior of Africa has been an unknown region, shut out and secluded from the rest of the world. Commerce which has gone everywhere, with a bold adventurous step, has faltered and fallen back here. Enterprising explorers, who have dared so much, and penetrated so far everywhere else, have gone but a little way inside the shell of Africa. The interior has never been reached in any manner calculated to throw open its treasures, or reveal its wonders to the gaze of the world. Hence it is that we look with admiration upon this effort which has been commenced by our Government, to explore this unknown region. Colonization has planted a footstep on the western coast, and opened a gate-way through which the vast recesses of the interior may be visited and revealed. Already a gentleman eminently qualified to have the planning and direction of this work, is on his way to, or actually in Liberia. Commander Lynch, of the U. S. Navy, sailed for Liberia, via England, the 13th of November last. The Secretary of the Navy, (who has been long known as a zealous friend of Liberia,) in his late re-

## Mission of Com. Lynch.—Auxiliary Societies.

port to Congress, says: "As I could not, however, without some special appropriation to the object, organize a full and effective expedition for the prosecution of this enterprise, I have thought that, by the employment of such means as have been provided for the ordinary exigencies of the service, I might profitably prepare the way for such an exploration as Congress might hereafter think fit to authorise. I have, accordingly, directed a preliminary investigation to be made by an officer of the Navy, whom I have attached to the African squadron, with orders to devote the months of the coming winter to an examination of the necessary conditions which this undertaking may require.

"In Commander Lynch, to whom the country is already indebted for important services in another field, I have found a prompt and ardent volunteer for this employment. He is now on his way to the African coast. He will land at Liberia, Cape Palmas, and other points, and will pursue his inquiries as far as the river Gaboon, with a view to the ascertainment of such localities on the margin of the African continent as may present the greatest facilities, whether by the river courses, or by inland routes, for penetrating with least hazard to the interior. He will collect information touching the geographical character of the country; its means of affording the necessary supplies of men and provisions; the temper of the inhabitants, whether hostile or friendly; the proper precautions to be observed to secure the health of a party employed; and all other items of knowledge upon which it may be proper hereafter to prepare and combine the forces essential to the success of a complete and useful exploration of the interior."

In the operations of the various Auxili-

ary Societies, during the past year, there is much of encouragement. They all speak of gaining new friends, and increasing usefulness.

The agents employed in collecting funds have been active, zealous, and successful. They have done honor to themselves, and greatly promoted the interests of the cause to which they have been devoted.

Some special attention has been given, in certain places, to enlightening the minds of the colored people on the subject. We highly commend the action of a large and influential meeting of the citizens of Mason county, Kentucky, which was held in the city of Maysville, the 12th of August. Among other resolutions, they adopted the following: "Resolved, that a committee of good and wise men be appointed, on behalf of this meeting, to confer with all the free persons of color within their reach, for the purpose of laying before them the facts and inducements inviting their migration to Liberia, and that every member of this meeting, and every member of the proposed association, and every citizen, is hereby invoked to use all proper means, to induce the free colored persons of their respective neighborhoods to consider the advantages to them, and their posterity, of a settlement in Liberia, under the auspices of the Kentucky Colonization Society." If this course were adopted and faithfully carried out in every neighborhood it would secure the most beneficial results. Surrounded as they are in many places by counsellors hostile to Liberia, and agitated by the rough and stormy waves of adversity, they see not the star of hope that gleams out on the shores of Africa. Clouds and darkness are round about their present habitation, which prevent them from understanding

## Conclusion.—Meeting of the Society.—Election of Officers.

the destiny of honor and exaltation, the career of broad and lasting usefulness which is opened before them. They hear not the voice that tells them of the riches that are theirs, if they will but arouse themselves, and be men. Here, then, is a work, too long and too much neglected, in which all the friends of the race may bear a hand. We know that colonization is full of blessings for them. We must therefore take hold of the enterprise in the true spirit of benevolence. We must show them that we are individually their

friends, and that as a society, we seek their highest good. If we would get within the entrenchment of their prejudices, we must prove ourselves to be laboring for their benefit, in every way, in which an intelligent and substantial philanthropy can manifest itself. And we may rest assured, that in every instance where we do this, some good effects will follow. The seed thus sown may lie long in the soil, but it will ultimately spring up and yield a plentiful harvest.

### Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Am. Col. Society.

THE American Colonization Society met according to adjournment, Tuesday evening, at 7 o'clock, the 18th January 1853, in the First Presbyterian Church.

The Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, one of the Vice Presidents, presided.

The Rev. R. R. Gurley opened the meeting with prayer.

An abstract of the annual report was read by Dr. Lugenbeel, Recording Secretary.

Addresses were delivered by the Hon. Edward Everett, the Rev. Charles H. Read, and the Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, after which the Society adjourned to meet in the Colonization Rooms, to-morrow, at 10 o'clock, a m.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,  
19th January, 1853.

The Society met according to adjournment. Anson G. Phelps, Esq.,

one of the Vice Presidents, presided.

JOHN H. B. LATROBE, Esq., was unanimously elected PRESIDENT of the American Colonization Society.

Messrs. Pinney and Ward, and Dr. Goble were appointed a committee to nominate Vice Presidents. After consultation, they reported the following gentlemen, who were duly elected, viz :—

#### VICE PRESIDENTS.

(First elected in 1819.)

1. Gen. John H. Cocke, of Virginia,

(First elected in 1823.)

2. Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, of Va.

3. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D. of Conn.

(First elected in 1830.)

4. Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, of N. J.

(First elected in 1832.)

5. Hon. Louis McLean, of Maryland.

(First elected in 1833.)

6. Moses Allen, Esq., of New York,

7. Gen. Walter Jones, of Dis. of Col.

8. Joseph Gales, Esq. do

(First elected in 1834.)

9. Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D. of Va

Vice Presidents elected.

(First elected in 1835.)

10. Rev. James O. Andrews, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.

11. William Maxwell, Esq. of Virginia.

(First elected in 1836.)

12. Hon. Elisha Whittlessey, of Ohio.

13. Hon. Walter Lowrie, of New York.

14. Hon. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.

15. Stephen Duncan, M. D., of Miss.

(First elected in 1838.)

16. Hon. William C. Rives, of Virginia.

17. Rev. J. Laurie, D. D. of Dis. of Col.

18. Rev. William Winans, D. D. of Miss.

19. James Boorman, Esq. of N. Y.

20. Henry A. Foster, Esq. of do.

21. Robert Campbell, Esq. of Georgia.

22. Hon. Peter D. Vroom, of N. J.

23. Hon. James Garland, of Virginia.

(First elected in 1840.)

24. Hon. Willard Hall, of Delaware.

25. Rt. Rev. Wm. M. Otey, of Tenn.

26. Gerard Rallston, Esq., of England.

27. Rev. C. Van Rensselaer, D. D. of N. J.

(First elected in 1841.)

28. Thomas Hodgkin, M. D., of England

29. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Mass.

30. Thomas R. Hazzard, Esq., of R. I.

31. Thomas Massie, M. D., of Va.

(First elected in 1842.)

32. Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A.

(First elected in 1843.)

33. Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.

34. James Railey, Esq. of Miss.

35. Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D. of N. Y.

(First elected in 1844.)

36. Elliott Cresson, Esq., of Penn.

37. Anson G. Phelps, Esq., of N. Y.

38. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Mass.

39. Rev. Beverly Waugh, D. D., Bishop of the Meth. Epis. Church.

(First elected in 1845.)

40. Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D. of S. C.

41. Moses Sheppard, Esq., of Md.

42. Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvain D. D., of O.

43. Rev. J. T. Edgar, D. D., of Tenn.

44. Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D. do.

45. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Ky.

(First elected in 1847.)

46. Rev J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.

47. Hon. H. L. Lumpkin, of Geo.

48. James Lenox, Esq., of N. Y.

(First elected in 1848.)

49. Rev. Joshua Soule, D. D. Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.

50. Rev. T. C. Upham, D. D., of Maine.

51. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.

52. Hon. Thos. W. Williams, of Conn.

53. Hon. Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.

(First elected in 1849.)

54. Rev. John Early, D. D. of Virginia.

55. Rev Lovick Pierce, D. D. of Ga.

56. Hon. R. J. Walker, of Miss.

(First elected in 1850.)

57. Samuel Gurney Esq., of England.

58. Charles McMicken, Esq. of Ohio.

59. John Bell, M. D., of Penn.

(First elected in 1851.)

60. Hon. Charles M. Conrad, of La.

61. Rev. Robert Ryland, of Va.

62. Hon. Fred. P. Stanton, of Tenn.

(First elected in 1852.)

63. Rev. Nathan Bangs, D. D., of N. Y.

64. John Beveridge, Esq. do.

65. Hon James M. Wayne, of Georgia.

66. Hon. Robert F. Stockton, of N. J.

67. Hon. Henry W. Collier, of Ala.

(First elected in 1853.)

68. Hon. Edward Everett, of Mass.

69. Hon. Washington Hunt, of N. Y.

70. Hon. Haratio S. Seymour, do.

71. Hon. Joseph A. Wright, of Ind.

72. Hon Joseph C. Hornblower, of N. J.

73. Hon. George F. Fort, of New Jersey

74. Gen. John S. Dorsey, do.

75. Hon. Ralph J. Ingersoll, of Conn.

76. Benjamin Silliman, LL. D. do.

77. Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, of Penn.

78. Hon. Edward Coles, do.

79. Rev. Howard Malcom, D. D. do.

80. Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D. do.

81. Edward McGehee, Esq. of Miss.

82. Thomas Henderson, Esq. do.

83. Daniel Turnbull, Esq., of La.

84. Hon. Thos. H. Seymour, of Conn

85. Hon. Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio

Adjournment.—Meeting of the Board of Directors.—List of Delegates.

James Hall, M. D., and William Crane, Esq., were appointed a committee to inform Mr. Latrobe of his election.

The annual report was taken up and referred to the Board of Directors.

The Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer offered several resolutions, which, after some consideration, were referred to the Board of Directors for their action.

On motion, it was *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to the Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, for the able and courteous manner with which he presided over the meeting of the Society, held last evening.

After which the Society adjourned to meet the 3d Tuesday of January, 1854, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

### Extracts from the Minutes of the Board of Directors.

#### COLONIZATION ROOMS,

*Washington, Jan. 18, 1853.*

The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met, according to adjournment, this day, at 12 o'clock, M. Anson G. Phelps, Esq., of New York, was called to the Chair, and Gabriel T. Disosway, Esq., was appointed Secretary.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Maclean.

The minutes of the last meeting were read.

On motion of Rev. Dr. Maclean, a Committee was appointed to report upon the roll of the Board of Directors for the present year. The Rev. Dr. Maclean, Mr. Schieffelin, and Mr. Gregory, were appointed.

Messrs. A. G. Phelps, Jr., and L. B. Ward, were appointed a Committee to audit the Treasurer's account.

The Committee on preparing the roll, reported the following list of names, viz :

*Vermont Colonization Society.*—Rev. John Wheeler, D. D.

*Massachusetts Col. Society.*—Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. Wil-

liam Appleton, Hon. J. H. Duncan, Hon. Albert Fearing, Dr. William R. Lawrence, James C. Dunn, Esq., Rev. Joseph Tracy.

*Connecticut Colonization Society.*—Hon. Charles Chapman, Hon. Charles J. McCurdy, Hon. O. S. Seymour, Hon. Ebenezer Flower, Jas. Brewster, Esq., Jas. Donaghe, Esq., Hezekiah Huntington, Esq., Rev. N. S. Wheaton, D. D., Rev. John Orcutt.

*New York State Col. Society.*—Anson G. Phelps, Esq., Anson G. Phelps, Jr., Esq.; L. B. Ward, Esq., H. M. Schieffelin, Esq., G. P. Disosway, Esq., Hon. D. S. Gregory, Rev. Thomas De Witt, D. D.

*New Jersey Colonization Society.*—Hon. Jacob W. Miller, Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., J. G. Goble, M. D., Rev. M. B. Hope, D. D.

*Pennsylvania Col. Society.*—William V. Pettit, Esq., Joseph Harrison, Esq., Archibald Robertson, Esq., Rev. John Morris Pease, William Parker Foulke, Esq.

## Delegates.—Resolutions.

*Virginia Colonization Society.*—Rev. Philip Slaughter, Rev. Charles H. Read, Rev. Dr. Sparrow, Hon. J. F. Strother, Hon. Charles J. Faulkner, Hon. John S. Caskie, Rev. S. Caskie, Rev. Dr. Lee, Judge Moncure, S. S. Baxter, Esq., J. C. Crane, Esq., John Howard, Esq., John M. Patton, Jr., Esq., R. B. Bolling, Esq., Tazewell Taylor, Esq., D'Arcy Paul, Esq., Edgar Snowden, Esq., J. M. Speed, Esq., R. G. Scott, Esq., Rev. J. N. Dauforth.

*Ohio Col. Society.*—*Committee of Correspondence.*—Hon. Samuel F. Vinton, William B. Thrall, Esq., J. J. Coombs, Esq.

*Kentucky Colonization Society.*—Hon. J. R. Underwood.

*Knoxville, Tenn., Col. Society.*—Hon. John Bell, Hon. James C. Jones, Hon. F. P. Stanton.

The Rev. B. Pinney, Rev. W. McLain and James Hall, M. D., *Life Directors*, were present.

The Rev. James Mitchell, present from Indiana, was, on motion, requested to take a seat, and participated in the deliberations of this Board. The same invitation was voted to the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, Agent of the Vermont Colonization Society.

Letters from Thomas R. Hazard, and Solomon Sturges, Esqs., *Life Directors*, were read by the Secretary.

A communication was presented by Mr. Disosway, from the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of Indiana, which, on mo-

tion, was referred to a Committee, consisting of Rev. Dr. Maclean, Rev. Mr. Slaughter, and Hon. Mr. Vinton.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow at 9 o'clock, A. M.

—  
*January 19th.*

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Brewster, Col. Charles Stearns, of Massachusetts, was invited to take part in the deliberations of this Board.

The Rev. Mr. Tracy, Rev. Dr. Eddy, and Rev. Mr. Pease were appointed a Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The Rev. Dr. Eddy presented the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Board be expressed to the Governors of such of the States as have commended the cause of African colonization in their annual messages ; and that we gratefully acknowledge our obligations to such Legislatures as have made appropriations to the cause of colonization, as not only greatly aiding its benevolent ends, but as directly commending this benevolent cause to the public confidence and support.

*Resolved*, That we contemplate with lively interest the introduction of the resolution now before the Senate of the United States, for the recognition of the Republic of Liberia as an independent nation.



## Election of Officers for 1853.—Resolutions.

Adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock this evening.

—  
*Evening Session, Jan. 19th.*

The Board met according to adjournment, at 8 o'clock, P. M.

The Committee appointed to nominate officers for the present year reported, and the following gentlemen were duly elected, viz :

*Secretary and Treasurer,* Rev. W. McLain.

*Recording Secretary,* J. W. Lugenbeel, M. D.

*Executive Committee,* Harvey Lindsy, M. D., Elisha Whittlesey, Joseph H. Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, D. D., William Gunton, W. W. Seaton.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

—  
*January 20th.*

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of yesterday were read and approved.

The resolutions presented at the meeting of the Society by the Hon. C. F. Mercer, and referred to this Board, were read, discussed, and adopted.

*Resolved,* That the President of the United States be respectfully requested to renew the negotiations recommended by the House of Representatives on the day of 18 , with the maritime powers of Europe and America, for the purpose of rendering the slave trade piratical by their concurrence with the United States, Government of Great Britain, and the States of the late Republic of Columbia.

*Resolved,* That the Board have learned with pleasure that the Executive Committee have taken steps to obtain a renewal of the former appropriations for the suppression of the African slave trade, and of the agency of the United States for the reception of the African captives, under the act of Congress of 1819.

The Rev. Dr. Maclean presented the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz :

*Resolved,* That it is the deliberate opinion of this Board that the withdrawal of the United States squadron from the western coast of Africa, would be the certain precursor of the revival of the slave trade, which for some years past has been kept in check by the activity of the vessels of war on that coast.

*Resolved,* That this Board firmly believe that the renewal of this infamous traffic would be highly detrimental to the operations of the American Colonization Society, to the interests of Liberia, and also to the growing commerce of the United States, so important to the civilization of Africa.

*Resolved,* That the Executive Committee be requested to convey, in the most respectful manner, to the Administration, the above expression of our opinion.

The Hon. Mr. Gregory presented the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted, viz :

Whereas, the growing importance and responsibilities of the American Colonization Society demand the earnest and personal attention of the delegates at the annual meeting; therefore,

*Resolved,* That the State Societies in the selection of Delegates be re-

## Agencies in the Western States.

quested to appoint such persons as may give their diligent attendance upon their duties as such during the three or four days of the session.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary send a copy of this preamble and resolution annually, to the State Societies.

The Rev. Dr. Wheeler presented the following resolution, which was adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to report on alterations in the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, with special reference to securing a more permanent and effective Board of Directors for the Society.

The Rev. Dr. Wheeler, the Hon. Mr. Vinton, and the Rev. Dr. J. S. Bacon, were appointed said committee.

The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's account, reported that they have discharged the duty, and found it to be correct according to the exhibit. (For which see page 32)

The Committee on the communication of the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, from Indiana, presented the following report, which was accepted and adopted, viz :

The Committee to consider the communication from the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of Indiana, would respectfully recommend the adoption of the following resolution, viz :

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be instructed to appoint for one year, a general agent for the States of Michigan, Iowa, and Wis-

consin, and also for the States of Indiana and Illinois, if the Colonization Societies of the two last named States shall concur with respect to said two States : the compensation for salary and travelling expenses not to exceed one thousand dollars.

Adjourned to 5½ o'clock this evening.

—  
*Evening Session, Jan. 20th.*

The Board met according to adjournment, at 5½ o'clock, P. M.

On motion, it was

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee are hereby requested to invite the services of the Rev. R. R. Gurley, as travelling general agent of this Society.

On motion of Mr. Foulke, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Board are due, and are hereby tendered to the Executive Committee, the Secretary, and the other officers of the Society, for the fidelity and ability with which they have discharged their respective duties during the past year.

On motion of Mr. Pettit, it was

*Resolved*, That the special thanks of this Board be presented to the Hon. Edward Everett, Secretary of State, for the able and most eloquent speech he delivered before the American Colonization Society, at their late annual meeting, and that the Secretary be requested to transmit to him a copy of this resolution, and to request of him a copy of the said speech for publication.

On motion the following resolutions were adopted, viz :

*Resolved*, That the warmest thanks of this Board be presented to Anson G. Phelps, Esq., for the ability and

## Adjournment—Address of the Hon. Edward Everett.

urbanity with which he has presided over their deliberations during the present session.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Board be presented to G. P. Disosway, Esq., for his faithful and laborious attention in his capacity of Secretary of the Board at the present meeting, and for keeping so copious and correct a minute of the various proceedings.

The minutes were then read, corrected, and approved.

On motion, the Board adjourned to the third Tuesday in January, 1854, at 12 o'clock, M.

The meeting was closed with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Wheeler.

ANSON G. PHELPS,  
*Chairman.*

GABRIEL P. DISOSWAY,  
*Secretary.*

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Address of the Hon. Edward Everett,

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN COL. SOCIETY, 18th JANUARY, 1853.

*Mr. President and Gent. of the Col. Soc'y:—*

It was my intention when I was requested some weeks ago, to take a part in the proceedings of this evening, to give to the subject of the Colonization Society and its operations on the coast of Africa, the most thorough examination in my power, in all its bearings, considering that, whether we look to the condition of this country or the interests of Africa, no more important object could engage our attention. But during almost the whole of the interval that has since elapsed, my time and my thoughts have been so entirely taken up and pre-occupied, that it has been altogether out of my power to give more than the hastiest preparation to the part which I am to take in this evening's proceedings. I am therefore obliged to throw myself upon the indulgence of this audience, with such a hasty view of the subject as I have been alone able to take.

The Colonization Society seems to me to have been the subject of much unmerited odium, of much equally unmerited indifference on the part of the great mass of the community, and to have received that attention which it so well deserves, from but very few. We regard it now only in its infancy. All that we see in this country

is the quiet operation of a private association, pursuing the even tenor of its way without ostentation, without eclat; and on the coast of Africa there is nothing to attract our attention but a small settlement, the germ of a Republic, which, however prosperous, is but still in its infancy.

But before we deride even these small beginnings—before we make up our minds that the most important futurities are not wrapped up in them, even as the spreading oak is wrapped up in the small acorn which we can hold in our fingers, we should do well to recollect the first twenty-five or thirty years of the settlement at Jamestown, in your State, Mr. President, the parent of Virginia. We should do well to remember the history of that dreadful winter at Plymouth, when more than half of the Mayflower's little company were laid beneath the sod, and that sod smoothed over for fear the native savage would come and count the number of the graves. I think if you look to what has been done in Liberia in the last quarter of a century, you will find that it compares favorably with the most and the best that was done in Virginia or in Plymouth, during the same period. These seem to me to be reasons why we should not

Address of the Hon. Edward Everett.

look with too much distrust at the small beginnings that have been made.

Gentlemen, the foundation of this Society was laid in a great political and moral necessity. The measures which were taken for the suppressions of the slave trade naturally led to the capture of slave-ships, and the question immediately arose what should be done with the victims that were rescued from them. It was necessary that they should be returned to Africa. They could not, each and all, be sent to their native villages. They had been collected from the whole interior of that country, many of them 2,000 miles in the interior, and it was out of the question that they should immediately be sent to their homes. If they had been placed upon the coast, in a body, at any of the usual points of resort, the result would have been to throw them at once back again into the grasp of the native chiefs who are the principal agents of the slave trade. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary, if the course of measures undertaken for the suppression of the slave trade was to be pursued, that some Colony should be founded, under the name and influence and patronage of a powerful European or American State, where these poor victims should be placed at once, safely protected, supplied with necessary provisions of all kinds, civilized if possible, and by degrees enabled to find their way back to their native villages, which some of them no doubt, both from the English and American Colony have from time to time done; as we know in fact that they have.

This as I understand it, was one of the first ideas that gave origin to this Society, and as I said before, it was a political and moral necessity.

Then came the kindred object, which was more important because applicable to a much larger number of persons, of providing a suitable home for that portion of the free colored population of this country that were desirous of emigrating to the land of their fathers. This at first, as I understand, for it was before my day, was an object that approved itself almost universally throughout the country, to the South as well as to the North, to the white as well as to the colored population. Every body seemed to think at first that this was a practicable, desirable, and most praiseworthy object. By degrees, I am sorry to say, jealousies crept in, prejudices, for so I must account them, arose; and in process of time, it has come to pass that this Society has become, I must say, intensely unpopular with a large class of the colored population whose interests and welfare were some of the prime objects of its foundation.

I will not undertake on this occasion to discuss the foundation of these prejudices. I will not dwell upon those, as they are called, oppressive laws, and that still more oppressive public sentiment in all parts of the country, which render the condition of the colored population in every part of the Union, one of disability, discouragement, and hardship. In order to meet the objection to the operation of the Society which arises from the statement that it tends to co-operate with, and to strengthen these oppressive laws and this oppressive public sentiment, I will for argument sake, take it for granted that this legislation and this sentiment are correctly thus characterized; that they are as oppressive, cruel, and tyrannical as they are declared to be.

Taking this for granted, I ask in

Address of the Hon. Edward Everett.

the name of common sense, in the name of humanity, does this state of things furnish any reason why the free colored population of the country, should be discouraged from leaving a state of things like this, and going to the land of their fathers, a continent of their own where no such legislation, where no such unfriendly public sentiment would exist; a great and fertile land, a land that is inviting them to come and take possession of it, and in various parts of which there is everything that can attract, and reward the industry of man? It seems to me that the objection which is urged to the Society, that it co-operates with that oppressive state of things here, furnishes the very strongest reason in favor of the emigration. Let us take a parallel case. Suppose any one had gone among that little company of persecuted christians in England, in the year 1608, who afterwards became the pilgrim church of Mr. Robinson at Leyden; or suppose any one had gone in 1630 to the more important company of Gov. Winthrop, the great founder of Massachusetts; had tried to excite their feelings against the projected emigration, had told them that England belonged to them as much as it did to their oppressors, had led them to stand upon their rights, and if necessary bleed and die for them; had depicted the hardships and sufferings of the passage, had painted in the darkest colors, the terrors of the wilderness into which they were about to venture; would that have been true friendship, would it have been kindness, would it have been humanity? Or to come nearer home, suppose at the present day one should go into Ireland, or France, or Switzerland, or Germany, or Norway, or any of the countries from which hundreds of thousands of men, in a depressed, destitute and

unhappy condition, are emigrating to the United States, to find a refuge, a home, a social position, and employment—suppose some one should go to them and try to stimulate a morbid patriotism, a bitter nationality, telling them the country where they were born, belonged as much to them as to the more favored classes, inducing them to stay where they were born, telling them that it was doubtful whether they would get employment in the new country, talking of the expenses, the diseases, the hardships of the poor emigrant, and in this way endeavor to deter them from this great adventure, which is to end in procuring a home and a position in the world, and an education for themselves and their children, would this be friendship, would this be kindness, would this be humanity? But these are the appeals which are made to the free colored population of this country, and it is by appeals like this that the Society and the colony have become, as I am sorry to say I believe is the case, highly unpopular among them.

But I must hasten on from this object of providing a home for the free colored population who wish to emigrate, to another which was a very considerable and leading object with the founders of this Society, and that is the suppression of the foreign slave trade. It is grievous to reflect, it is one of the darkest things that we read of in history, that contemporaneously with the discovery of this continent, and mainly from mistaken humanity towards its natives, the whole western coast of Africa was thrown open to that desolating traffic, which from time immemorial, had been carried on from the ports of the Mediterranean, the Nile, and the Red Sea, and the shores of Eastern Africa.—It is still more painful to reflect that

Address of the Hon. Edward Everett.

it was precisely at the period when the best culture of modern Europe was moving rapidly towards its perfection, that the intercourse of Africa with Europe, instead of proving a blessing proved a curse. Have you well considered, Mr. President, that it was in the days of Shakspeare, and Spenser, and Hooker, and Bacon, and other bright suns in the firmament of the glory of England, that her navigators first began to go forth, and as if in derision, in vessels, bearing the venerable names of "the Solomon" and "the Jesus," to the coast of Africa to tear away its wretched natives into a state of bondage. It was at the very time when in England and France, the last vestiges of the feudal system were breaking down, when private war was put an end to, and men began to venture out from the walled towns and dwell in safety in the open country, and to traverse the high roads without fear, it was then that those most polished nations began to enter into competition with each other, which should monopolize that cruel traffic, the African slave trade, the principal agency of which was to stir up a system of universal hostility; not merely between nation and nation, but between tribe and tribe, clan and clan, family and family, and often between members of the same household; for, I am sorry to say, it is no unprecedented thing for these poor creatures to sell their wives and children to the slave trader.

In this way the whole western coast of Africa became like the Northern and Eastern coast before, one general mart for the slave trade. This lasted for three hundred years. At length the public sentiment of the world, in Europe and America, was awakened. Several of the colonial assemblies in this country

passed acts inhibiting the slave trade, but they were uniformly negatived by the Crown. The Continental Congress in 1776, denounced the traffic. The federal convention in 1789 fixed a prospective period for its abolition in this country. The example was followed by the States of Europe. At the present day every christian and several of the Mahomedan powers have forbidden it; yet it is extensively carried on, and some authorities say that the number of slaves taken from Africa has not materially diminished; but I hope this is not true. This state of facts has led several persons most desirous of putting an end to the traffic, to devise some new system, some new agency; and all agree—there is not a dissenting voice on that point—that the most effectual, and in fact the only substitute is the establishment of colonies. Wherever a colony is established on the coast of Africa under the direction of a christian power in Europe or America, there the slave trade disappears; not merely from the coast of the colony, but from the whole interior of the country which found an outlet at any point on that coast. In this way, from the most northern extremity of the French and English colonies down to the most southern limit of the American settlements, the slave trade has entirely disappeared. The last slave mart in that region, the Gallinas, has within a short time, I believe, come within the jurisdiction of the American colony of Liberia. Now, along that whole line of coast and throughout the whole interior connected with it, a line of coast, as I believe, not less than that from Maine to Georgia—from every port and every harbor of which the foreign slave trade was carried on—with in the memory of man, it has en-

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tirely disappeared. What Congresses of sovereigns at Vienna, and Aix-la-Chapelle, could not do, what squadrons of war steamers cruising along the coast could not achieve, what quintuple treaties among the powers of Europe could not effect by the arts of diplomacy, has been done by these poor little colonies, one of which at least, that of Liberia, has, in latter times, been almost without the recognition of this government, struggling into permanence by the resources furnished by private benevolence. (Applause.) I ask what earthly object of this kind more meritorious than this can be named? And what career is there opened to any colored man in Europe or America, more praiseworthy, more inviting than this, to form as it were, in his own person a portion of that living cordon, stretching along the coast and barring its whole extent from the approaches of this traffic? (Applause.)

But even the suppression of the slave trade, all important as it is, is but auxiliary to another ulterior object of still more commanding importance, and that is the civilization of Africa. The condition of Africa is a disgrace to the rest of the civilized world. With an extent nearly three times as great as that of Europe, its known portions of great fertility, teeming with animal and vegetable life, traversed by magnificent chains of mountains, East, and West, North and South, whose slopes send down the tributaries of some of the noblest rivers in the world, connecting on the North by the Mediterranean, with the ancient and modern culture of Europe, projecting on the West far into the Atlantic ocean, that great highway of the world's civilization, running on the South East into a near proximity to our own South American continent, open on the East to the

trade of India: and on the North East by the Red Sea and the Nile, locked closely into the Asiatic continent, one would have thought that with all these natural endowments, with this noble geographical position, Africa was destined to be the emporium, the garden of the Globe. Man alone in this unhappy continent has dropped so far into arrears in the great march of humanity, behind the other portions of the human family, that the question has at length been started whether he does not labor under some incurable, natural inferiority. In this, for myself, I have no belief whatever.

I do not deny that among the numerous races in the African continent, as among the numerous races in all the other continents, there are great diversities, from the politic and warlike tribes upon the central plateau, to the broken down hordes on the slave coast, and on the banks of the Congo, and the squalid, half human Hottentot. But do you think the difference is any greater between them than it is between the Laplander, the Gipsy, the Calmuc, and the proudest and brightest specimens of humanity in Europe or America? I think not.

What then can be the cause of the continued uncivilization of Africa? Without attempting presumptuously to pry into the mysteries of Providence, I think that adequate causes can be found in some historical and geographical circumstances. It seems a law of human progress, which however difficult to explain, is too well sustained by facts to be doubted, that in the first advances out of barbarism into civilization, the first impulses and guidances must come from abroad. This of course leaves untouched the great mystery who could have made a beginning; but still as far back as history or tradition runs, we do find that the

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first guidance and impulse came from abroad. From Egypt and Syria the germs of improvement were brought to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to the North and West of Europe, from Europe to America, and they are now speeding on from us to the farthest West, until at length it shall meet the East again. To what extent the aboriginal element shall be borne down and overpowered by the foreign influences, or enter into kindly combination with them, depends upon the moral and intellectual development of both parties. There may be such aptitude for improvement, or the disparity between the native and foreign race may be so small, that a kindly combination will at once take place. This is supposed to have been the case with the ancient Grecian tribes in reference to the emigrants from Egypt and the East. Or the inaptitude may be so great, and the disparity between the natives and the foreigners may be so wide that no such kindly union can take place. This is commonly supposed to be the case with the natives of our own continent, who are slowly and silently retiring before the inroads of a foreign influence.

Now in reference to this law of social progress, there have been in Africa two most unfortunate difficulties. In the first place, all the other branches of the human family that have had the start of Africa in civilization have, from the very dawn of history, been concerned in the slave trade, so that intercourse with foreigners, instead of being a source of mutual improvement to both parties, particularly to the weaker, has, in the case of Africa, only tended to sink them deeper into barbarism and degeneracy of every kind. This has been one difficulty. Another is the climate—this vast equatorial ex-

pense—this aggregate of land between the tropics, greater than all the other parts of the globe together, her fervid vertical sun, burning down upon the rank vegetation of her fertile plains, and rendering her shores and water courses pestiferous to a foreign constitution. This circumstance also seems to shut Africa out from the approaches of civilization through the usual channels. The ordinary inducements of gain, are too weak to tempt the merchant to those feverous shores. Nothing but a taste for adventure, approaching to mania, attracts the traveller; and when christian benevolence allures the devoted missionary to this field of labor, it lures him too often to his doom.

By this combination of influences, Africa seems to have been shut out from the beginning from all those benefits that otherwise result from foreign intercourse. But now, mark and reverence the Providence of God, educing out of these disadvantages of climate, (disadvantages as we consider them) and out of this colossal, moral wrong—the foreign slave trade—educing out of these seemingly hopeless elements of physical and moral evil, after long cycles of crime and suffering, of violence and retribution, such as history no where else can parallel—educing, I say, from these almost hopeless elements by the blessed alchemy of christian love the ultimate means of the regeneration of Africa, (applause.)

The conscience of the Christian world at last was roused; an end it was determined should be put to the foreign slave trade, but not till it had conveyed six millions of the children and descendants of Africa to the Western Hemisphere, of whom about one and a half millions have passed into a state of freedom; though born and educated, no



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doubt, under circumstances unfavorable for moral or intellectual progress, sharing in the main the blessings, and the lights of our common christian civilization, and proving themselves, in the example of the Liberian colony, amply qualified to be the medium of conveying these blessings to the land of their fathers.

Thus you see at the very moment when the work is ready to commence, the instruments are prepared. Do I err in supposing that the same august Providence which has arranged, or has permitted the mysterious sequence of events to which I have referred, has also called out, and is inviting those chosen agents to enter upon the work? Every thing else has been tried and failed. Commercial adventure on the part of individuals has been unsuccessful: strength, courage, endurance, almost superhuman, have failed; well appointed expeditions fitted out, under the auspices of powerful associations, and powerful governments, have ended in the most calamitous failure; and it has been proved at last, by all this experience, that the white race of itself, cannot civilize Africa.

Sir, when that most noble expedition, I think in 1841, was fitted out, under the highest auspices in England, to found an agricultural colony at the confluence of the Niger and the Chad, out of one hundred and fifty white persons that formed a part of it, every man sickened, and all but three or four died. On the other hand, out of one hundred and fifty colored men, that formed part of the expedition, only three or four sickened, and they were men who had passed some years in the West Indies, and in Europe, and not one died. I think that fact, in reference to the civilization of Africa is worth, I had almost said, all the treasure, and all the suffering of that ill-fated expedition.

Sir, you cannot civilize Africa,—you Caucasian—you proud white man—you all-boasting, all-daring, Anglo-Saxon, you cannot do this work. You have subjugated Europe; the native races of this country are melting before you as the untimely snows of April beneath a vernal sun; you have possessed yourselves of India, you threaten China and Japan; the farthest isles of the Pacific are not distant enough to escape your grasp, or insignificant enough to elude your notice; but this great Central Africa lies at your doors and defies your power. Your war steamers and your squadrons may range along the coast, but neither on the errands of peace, nor on the errands of war, can you penetrate into and long keep the interior. The God of nature, for purposes inscrutable, but no doubt to be reconciled with His wisdom and goodness, has drawn a cordon across the chief inlets that you cannot pass. You may hover on the coast, but woe to you if you attempt to make a permanent lodgment in the interior. Their poor mud-built villages will oppose no resistance to your arms; but death sits portress at their undented gates. Yellow fevers, and blue plagues, and intermittent poisons, that you can see as well as feel, hover in the air. If you attempt to go up the rivers, pestilence shoots from the mangroves that fringe their noble banks; and the all-glorious sun, that kindles everything else into life and power, darts down disease and death into your languid frame. No, no, Anglo-Saxon, this is no part of your vocation. You may direct the way, you may survey the coast, you may point your finger into the interior; but you must leave it to others to go and abide there. The God of nature, in another branch of his family, has chosen out the instruments of

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this great work—descendants of the torrid clime, children of the burning vertical sun—and fitted them by centuries of stern discipline for this most noble work—

From foreign realms and lands remote,  
Supported by His care,  
They pass unharmed through burning  
climes,  
And breathe the tainted air.

Sir, I believe that Africa will be civilized, and civilized by the descendants of those who were torn from the land. I believe it because I will not think that this great fertile continent is to be forever left waste. I believe it because I see no other agency fully competent to the work. I believe it because I see in this agency a most wonderful adaptation.

But doubts are entertained of the practicability of effecting this object by the instrumentality that I have indicated. They are founded, in the first place, on the supposed incapacity of the free colored population of this country and the West Indies to take up and carry on such a work; and also on the supposed degradation and, if I may use such a word, unimprovability of the native African races, which is presumed to be so great as to bid defiance to any such operation.

Now, I think it would be very unjust to the colored population of this country and the West Indies to argue from what they have done under present circumstances, to what they might effect under the most favorable circumstances. I think, upon the whole, all things considered, that they have done quite as well as could be expected; that they have done as well as persons of European or Anglo-American origin would have done after three centuries of similar depression and hardship. You will recollect, sir, that Mr. Jefferson, in his valuable work, called "The Notes on Virginia,"

states in strong language the intellectual inferiority of the colored race. I have always thought that it ought to have led Mr. Jefferson to hesitate a little as to the accuracy of this opinion, when he recollected that in the very same work he was obliged to defend the Anglo-American race, to which he himself, and to which so many of us belong, against the very same imputation brought by an ingenious French writer, the Abbé Raynal, whose opinions were shared by all the school of philosophers to which he belonged. Why, it is but a very few years—I do not know that the time has now ceased—when we Anglo-Americans were spoken of by our brethren beyond the water, as a poor, degenerate, almost semi-barbarous race. In the liberal journals of England, within thirty years, the question has been contemptuously asked, in reference to the native country of Franklin, and Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Madison, and Marshall; of Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, Ticknor, Bryant, and Cooper, Longfellow, and Hawthorne, and hosts of others: "Who reads an American book?" It seems to me in view of facts like this we ought to be a little cautious how we leap to the conclusion that the free colored African race is necessarily in a condition of hopeless inferiority.

Then in reference to the other difficulty about the unimprovability of the African. It is said that the Africans alone of all the branches of the human family have never been able to rise out of barbarism. Sir, I do not know that; I do not think that anybody knows it. An impenetrable cloud hangs over the early history of mankind in every part of the globe. We well know in reference to the whole North and West of Europe, and a great part of the South of Europe,

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that it was utterly barbarous until the light of the Roman civilization shone in upon it, and in comparatively recent times. We also know that in very early times one of the native African races, I mean the Egyptians, attained a high degree of culture. They were the parents of all the arts of Greece, and through them of the ancient world. The Egyptians were a colored race.—They did not belong to the negro type; but still they were purely a colored race, and if we should judge of their present condition, as unimprovable as any of the tribes of Central Africa. Yet we find upon the banks of the Nile, the massive monuments of their cheerless culture that have braved the storms of time more successfully than the more graceful structures of Rome and of Greece.

It is true that some nations who have emerged from barbarism at a later period have attained the precedence over Africa, and have kept it to the present day; but I am not willing to believe that this arises from causes so fixed and permanent in their nature, that no reversal, at no length of time, is to be hoped from their operation. We are led into error by contemplating things too much in the gross. There are tribes in Africa which have made no contemptible progress in various branches of human improvement.—On the other hand, if we look at the population of Europe—if we cast our eyes from Lisbon to Archangel, from the Hebrides to the Black Sea,—if for a moment we turn our thoughts from the few who are born to wealth, and its consequent advantages, culture, education, and that lordship over the forces of nature which belongs to cultivated mind,—if we turn from these to the benighted, oppressed, destitute, superstitious ignorant, suffering millions, who

pass their lives in the hopeless toil of the field, the factory, and the mine; whose inheritance from generation to generation is beggary; whose education from sire to son is stolid ignorance; at whose daily table hunger and thirst are the stewards, whose occasional festivity is brutal intemperance; if we could count their numbers—if we could sum up together in one frightful mass, all their destitution of the comforts and blessings of life, and thus form an estimate of the practical barbarism of the nominally civilized portions of the world, we should, I think, come to the conclusion that this supposed in-bred essential superiority of the European races does not really exist.

If there be any such essential superiority, why has it been so late in showing itself! It is said that the Africans have persisted in their barbarism for four or five thousand years. Europe persisted in her barbarism for three or four thousand years, and in the great chronology of Divine Providence, we are taught that a thousand years are but as one day. Sir, it is only ten centuries since the Anglo-Saxons, to whose race we are so fond of claiming kindred, were as barbarous and uncivilized as many of the African tribes. They were a savage, ferocious, warlike people; pirates at sea, bandits on shore, slaves of the most detestable superstitions; worshipping idols as cruel and ferocious as themselves. And, as to the foreign slave trade, it is but eight centuries, and perhaps less, since there was as much slave trade in proportion, upon the coast of Great Britain as in the Bight of Benin at the present day. The natives of England eight centuries ago, were bought and sent to the slave marts, in the south and west of Europe. At length the light of christianity shone in; refinement,

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civilization, letters, arts, and by degrees all the delights, all the improvements of life followed in their train, and now we talk with the utmost self complacency of the essential superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, and look down with disdain upon those portions of the human family, who have lagged a little behind us in the march of civilization.

Africa at the present day is not in that state of utter barbarism, which popular opinion ascribes to it. Here again we do not sufficiently discriminate. We judge in the gross. Certainly there are tribes wholly broken down by internal wars, and the detestable foreign slave trade; but this is not the character of the entire population. They are not savages. Most of them live by agriculture. There is some traffic between the coast and the interior. Many of the tribes have a respectable architecture, though of a rude kind, but still implying some progress of the arts. Gold dust is collected; iron is smelted and wrought; weapons and utensils of husbandry and household use are fabricated; cloth is woven and dyed; palm oil is expressed; there are schools; and among the Mahomedan tribes the Koran is read. You, Mr. President, well remember that twenty-one years ago, you and I saw in one of the committee rooms of yonder Capitol, a native African, who had been 40 years a field slave in the West Indies and in this country, and wrote at the age of 70 the Arabic character, with the fluency and the elegance of a scribe. Why, Sir, to give the last test of civilization, Mungo Park tells us in his journal that in the interior of Africa law-suits are argued with as much ability, as much fluency, and at as much length as in Edinburgh. (Laughter and applause.)

Sir, I do not wish to run into paradox on this subject. I am aware that the condition of the most advanced tribes of Central Africa is wretched, mainly, in consequence of the slave trade. The only wonder is, that with this cancer eating into their vitals from age to age, any degree of civilization whatever can exist. But degraded as the ninety millions of Africans are, I presume you might find in the aggregate, on the continent of Europe, another ninety millions as degraded, to which each country in that quarter of the globe would contribute its quota. The difference is, and it is certainly an all important difference, that in Europe, intermingled with these ninety millions, are fifteen or twenty millions possessed of all degrees of culture up to the very highest, while in Africa there is not an individual who, according to our standard, has attained a high degree of intellectual culture; but if obvious causes for this can be shown, it is unphilosophical to infer from it an essential incapacity.

But the question seems to me to be put at rest, by what we all must have witnessed of what has been achieved by the colored race in this country and on the coast of Africa. Unfavorable as their position has been for any intellectual progress, we still all of us know that they are competent to the common arts and business of life, to the ingenious and mechanical arts, to keeping accounts, to the common branches of academical and professional culture. Paul Cuffee's name is familiar to everybody in my part of the country, and I am sure you have heard of him. He was a man of uncommon energy and force of character. He navigated to Liverpool his own vessel, manned by a colored crew. His father was a native African slave; his mother was

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a member of one of the broken down Indian tribes, some fragments of which still linger in the corners of Massachusetts. I have already alluded to the extraordinary attainments of that native African Prince, Abdul Rahhaman. If there was ever a native born gentlemen on earth he was one. He had the port and the air of a prince, and the literary culture of a scholar. The learned Blacksmith of Alabama, now in Liberia, has attained a celebrity scarcely inferior to his white brother, who is known by the same designation. When I lived in Cambridge a few years ago I used to attend, as one of the Board of Visitors, the examinations of a classical school, in which there was a colored boy, the son of a slave in Mississippi, I think. He appeared to me to be of pure African blood. There were at the same time two youths from Georgia, and one of my own sons, attending the same school. I must say that this poor negro boy, Beverly Williams, was one of the best scholars at the school, and in the Latin language he was the best scholar in his class. These are instances that have fallen under my own observation. There are others I am told which show still more conclusively the colored race for every kind of intellectual culture.

Now look at what they have done on the coast of Africa. Think of the facts that were spread before you in that abstract of the Society's doings, which was read this evening. It is only 25 or 30 years since that little colony was founded under the auspices of this Society. In that time what have they done; or rather let me ask what have they not done? They have established a well organized constitution of Republican Government, which is administered with ability and energy in peace, and by the unfortunate necessity of circumstances, also in war. They have courts of

justice, modelled after our own; schools, churches and lyceums.—Commerce is carried on, the soil is tilled, communication is open to the interior. The native tribes are civilized; diplomatic relations are creditably sustained with foreign powers; and the two leading powers of Europe, England and France, have acknowledged their sovereignty and independence. Would the same number of persons taken principally from the laboring classes, of any portion of England, or Anglo-America, have done better than this?

Ah! Sir, there is an influence at work through the agency of this Society, and other Societies, and through the agency of the colony of Liberia, and others which I hope will be established, sufficient to produce these and still greater effects. I mean the influence of pure unselfish christian love. This, after all, is the only influence that can never fail. Military power will at times be resisted, and overcome. Commercial enterprise, however well planned, may be blasted. State policy, however deep, may be outwitted; but pure, unselfish, manly, rather let me say heavenly love, never did, and in the long run never will fail, (applause.) It is a truth which this Society ought to write upon its banners, that it is not political nor military power, but the moral sentiment, principally under the guidance and influence of religious zeal, that has in all ages civilized the world. Arms, craft, and mammon lie in wait, and watch their chance, but they cannot poison its vitality. Whatever becomes of the question of intellectual superiority, I should insult this audience, if I attempted to argue that in the moral sentiments, the colored race stand upon an equality with us. I read a year or two ago in a newspaper an anecdote which illustrates this in

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so beautiful and striking a manner that, with your permission I will repeat it.

When the news of the discovery of gold reached us from California, a citizen of the upper part of Louisiana, from the Parish of Rapides, for the sake of improving his not prosperous fortunes, started with his servant to get a share, if he could, of the golden harvest. They repaired to the gold regions. They labored together for a while with success. At length the strength of the master failed, and he fell dangerously sick. What then was the conduct of the slave in those far off hills? In a State whose constitution did not recognize slavery, in that newly gathered and not very thoroughly organized state of society, what was his conduct? As his master lay sick with the typhus fever, Priest and Levite came, and looked upon him, and passed by on the other side. The poor slave stood by him, tended him, protected him; by night and by day his sole companion, nurse and friend. At length the master died. What then was the conduct of the slave in those distant wastes, as he stood by him whom living he had served, but who was now laid low at his feet by the great Emancipator? He dug his decent grave in the golden sands. He brought together the earnings of their joint labor; these he deposited in a place of safety as a sacred trust for his master's family. He then went to work under a Californian sun to earn the wherewithall to pay his passage home. That done, he went back to the banks of the Red River, in Louisiana, and laid down the little store at the feet of his master's widow.—[Applause.]

Sir, I do not know whether the story is true, I read it in a public journal. The Italians have a proverbial saying of a tale like this, that if it is not true it is well-invented. This, Sir, is too good to be invented. It is, it must be true. That master and that slave ought to live in marble and in brass, and if it was not presumptuous in a person like me so soon to pass away and to be forgotten, I would say their memory shall never perish.

*Fortunati ambo! siquid mea carmina possint,*

*Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.*

There is a moral treasure in that incident. It proves the capacity of the colored race to civilize Africa. There is a moral worth in it, beyond all the riches of California. If all her gold—all that she has yet yielded to the indomitable industry of the adventurer, and all that she locks from the cupidity of man, in the virgin chambers of her snow-clad sierras—were all moulten into one vast ingot, it would not, in the sight of Heaven, buy the moral worth of that one incident. [Applause.]

Gentlemen of the Colonization Society, I crave your pardon for this long intrusion upon your patience. I have told you—pardon that word, you knew it before—I have reminded you of the importance of the work, of the instrumentality by which it is to be effected, of the agents chosen as I think in the councils of Heaven to carry it into effect; and now what remains for us, for every friend of humanity, but to bid God speed to the undertaking?

[The honorable gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud and long continued applause.]

NOTE.—I perceive from a note to the foregoing speech as republished in the Colonization Herald, that, in speaking from memory of the Expedition to the Niger in 1841, I considerably overrated the mortality among the whites. Nearly every white member of the expedition was disabled by sickness from the performance of duty; but forty only died. This mortality, however, required the immediate abandonment of the enterprize.—E. E.

From 1st January, 1852, to 1st January, 1853.

|                                                                                              |             |              |                                                                                                                                                                   |              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| To Balances due the Society per last report.....                                             | \$35,149 48 |              | By Balance due by the Society per last report.....                                                                                                                | \$6,862 34   |
| Cash on hand.....                                                                            | 8,396 94    | 43,546 42    | Payments for the following objects, to wit:                                                                                                                       |              |
|                                                                                              |             |              | Salaries of Physicians and Agents in Liberia, &c.....                                                                                                             | 5,883 84     |
| Receipts from the following sources, to wit:                                                 |             |              | Purchase of Territory.....                                                                                                                                        | 6,536 42     |
| Legacies.....                                                                                | 7,162 62    |              | Liberian Government, on account of the Grand War.....                                                                                                             | 5,758 95     |
| Profit and loss.....                                                                         | 1,865 06    |              | Expense in the Thompson Will case....                                                                                                                             | 62 50        |
| African Repository.....                                                                      | 1,267 15    |              | Salaries of the Secretary, Recording Secretary and Clerk of the Am. Col. Soc. rent of Office, fuel and stationery, paper for the annual report, and printing, &c. | 5,716 45     |
| Emigrants.....                                                                               | 9,547 19    |              | Profit and loss.....                                                                                                                                              | 1,326 55     |
| Donations.....                                                                               | 33,387 30   |              | Paper for the African Repository and printing, collection of subscriptions, &c....                                                                                | 2,468 52     |
| Miscellaneous—Received from sundry persons for remittance to individuals in Liberia, &c..... | 1,497 52    |              | Transportation and support of emigrants.                                                                                                                          | 48,221 70    |
| Total receipts.....                                                                          | 98,273 26   |              | Compensation to Agents, and other expenses in collecting funds.....                                                                                               | 7,750 26     |
| Balances due by the Society.....                                                             | 23,283 43   |              | Miscellaneous—Remitted to sundry persons in Liberia.....                                                                                                          | 985 83       |
|                                                                                              |             |              | Total expenditures.....                                                                                                                                           | 91,573 36    |
|                                                                                              |             |              | Balances due the Society.....                                                                                                                                     | 29,983 33    |
|                                                                                              |             | \$121,556 69 |                                                                                                                                                                   | \$121,556 69 |

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Washington City, January 1st, 1853.

NOAH FLETCHER, Book-keeper.

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.

ANSON G. PHELPS, Jr. } Auditors.  
J. B. WARD. }

Address of Rev. Charles H. Read.

## Address of the Rev. Charles H. Read, of Virginia,

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN COL. SOCIETY, 18th JANUARY, 1853.

MR. PRESIDENT, and respected patrons, and friends of this noble enterprise of African Colonization,—in rising to address this assembly, in this order of the proceedings of this meeting, and under the pleasing ravishment in which we have all shared so deeply,—I cannot doubt that I have your sympathies, appreciating as you must the delicacy and difficulty of my position.

I am reminded of the beautiful lines of Moore, which I could wish might now be verified :

" The Georgian's song was scarcely mute,  
When the same measure, sound for sound,  
Have caught up by another lute,  
And so divinely breathed around,

\* \* \* That none knew whether  
The voice or lute was most divine,  
So wondrously they went together :"

—would that *that answering lute* were indeed mine, on this occasion, for then might the charm which has been distilling upon us for the last hour still linger. But instead of such a voice or lute,—mine is as it were an humble *reed*, practised most in *pastoral* life.

In responding to your summons, Mr. President, under these circumstances,—upon a field where I have no reputation to save, and where there are no longer any honors to be won,—I shall be indulged in stating, as briefly as possible, the topics on which I had proposed to speak, without enlargement or elaboration.

It is a fact, worthy of attention, that the Report,—to the interesting and instructive details of which we have listened this evening,—is the THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT of a Society, which has from the first, and during all this period, engaged the serious attention, and been under the superintendence, and guided by the wisdom of many of the wisest and best men of this nation ;—this fact, alone, challenges the respect of all who revere wisdom and virtue, for this scheme of African Colonization.

That most eminent men, from all sections of this country—of different political faith—men of unquestionable piety and superior intelligence, in different denominations of christians—have discerned in the objects and operations of this Society something to engage their joint sympathies, and labors and prayers—this is enough to stamp the cause itself with a high measure of moral grandeur.

This, then, is no ephemeral project, originating in adventitious popular excitement ; the *history* of this enterprise—what is it but a monument of renown!—on which the names of the great and the good, LIVING and DEPARTED, are durably inscribed ; its *object* ; those to which wisdom and virtue have been, and are now tributary ; this cause has thus a *life* of excellent memory and associations in the *past*, it *yet lives*, wearing here to-night funeral emblems which connect it with mighty men of renown, who were devoted to it while they lived—who bestowed upon it their dying benediction—and who have left it to the sympathies and guardianship of their admiring survivors.

Unless I mistake its past history, its achievements, its present aspects, and its hold on the public regard ; unless I mistake all these, and the converging lines of prophecy and of Providence—this cause was never so promising and strong as it is at this moment.

Difficulties, great difficulties, have been encountered by it, and have been overcome ; other and severe trials may have to be encountered in its future progress ; but no past or present obstacles warrant distrust. Allusion was made by the Hon. and eloquent gentleman who preceded me, to the history of the colonial struggles, at Jamestown and Plymouth,—and if we need further encouragement, let me add the history of Christianity ;—surely those who remember Jamestown and Plymouth, and more than all, they who follow Christianity from the Manger and the Cross, to its present development—are not to be discouraged in their zeal, or retarded in their efforts by mere difficulties,—whether they arise from ignorance, from error, or from that strange pugnacity which is one of the fruits and characteristics of depraved nature.—Difficulties ! opposition, in a good cause ! these are but trials necessary to strength ; like violent winds bearing down upon the forest, causing the trees to spread their roots more widely, making the trunks more firm, giving greater extension to the branches, and producing more exuberant and beautiful foliage. (Applause.)

But what, let me inquire, is the cardinal principle of public morals, by which we are animated in the advocacy and support of this work of African Colonization ?

Have we, or have we not, some clear



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and tangible rule of action, some definable moral principle, underlying and animating all this movement?

I noticed within a few days, in one of the popular journals, a statement to this effect;—that upon the first exhibition of a working model of Ericsson's caloric engine in England—the accomplished and celebrated Professor Faraday was announced to lecture before a London audience, upon *the motive principle* of that sublime invention, which is now the subject of such intense interest throughout the land;—and that but half an hour before the Professor was to meet the brilliant audience which had already begun to assemble, he made the mortifying discovery that he had entirely misapprehended the *motive principle* in the invention. He could say that the model *did act*; he could tell that one part acted upon another;—but *why the engine acted at all*, he was utterly incapable of explaining.

Mr. President: Self-respect, and the present public attitude of this Society, seem to demand that its cardinal principles should be distinctly stated. It is not perhaps, enough, sir, to point inquisitive minds to the names of its founders and patrons, and to claim co-operation from the community generally, in their individual and governmental capacity, *simply* because many good men have identified themselves with this Society. Nor will it suffice, perhaps, to satisfy every candid and well-disposed inquirer, to point to *incidental results*, such as the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa, and the planting there of the seeds of christian civilization and good government. The existing relations between the free colored population in our country, *the people to be colonized*, and the white population, to whose hands Providence has entrusted the exercise of intelligence, wealth and political power, and upon whom the management of this particular scheme of colonization is devolved; the existence of these two principal parties and their relations to each other, *here*, at home, these elements, out of which the whole scheme originates, must needs be considered.

The free colored people in our country sustain *such a relation* to the white population—to whose hands Providence has entrusted the exercise of intelligence, wealth and GOVERNMENT—as invests them with certain *rights* and devolves on us certain *duties*. Mr. President, the doctrine which I am about to propose may, or may not, receive immediate approbation, nor is this

Society made responsible for it because of its utterance on this floor and on this occasion. I adopt and offer it as my own, while it is just to say that it is literally borrowed from one who is largely known and honored.

"Human rights," says the Rev. Dr. Stiles, "I take to be summarily *three*.—1st. The right of *existence*. Life is the gift of God, and operates a right of existence against all save Him who bestows it. This right involves a reasonable use of all the faculties and powers of the subject. 2nd. A right of *happiness*. The Creator has surrounded man with every object suited to refresh the desires of his nature, and thus invests him with a right of indulgence, a right of happiness. 3rd. A right of *supervision*. God, in creation and providence, frequently places man in a state of dependence wherein the enjoyment of his natural rights can never be reached without progressive development, *under competent supervision*. This indicates a RIGHT OF SUPERVISION. Such a right is universally felt to result from the coincidence of three things.

"Let there exist an incapacity of self-government, which renders its exercise mischievous to the parties and to society; and for which God in creation and providence has appointed a guardianship, and all men will feel that every such human being has a right to wise and kind supervision."

Here we find, as I must think, the groundwork, the root and life of our enterprise. This principle, distinctly apprehended, and legitimately applied, indicates a line of action that shall be both kindly protective toward the free colored people among us, and safe for those whose sympathies and supervision are called into exercise in their behalf.

Let us notice a simple illustration of this principle; look at *the infant* of our species, ushered into existence by Providence, in such feebleness and utter incompetency of self-support, that if life itself is of any worth, or invested with any rights, the first of all rights is the right of *supervision*. This right of supervision on the part of the helpless and dependent, devolves a *duty* upon some proper guardian, whosoever Providence may indicate that guardian to be; and this *duty* to supervise must of course be connected with, and inseparable from, suitable authority to control the subject. The child has no forecast, no prudence; if not directed, guided, controlled, he destroys himself. It is idle

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vaporings, the merest trifling, to talk to him about *natural rights*, as sentimental philanthropists, flattering demagogues, and despisers of healthful authority now bruit the notion of *human rights* around the world.

Thus the very right of existence itself is inseparable from the right of supervision; and this *right* of supervision operates the *duty* of supervision on the parent, and invests that parent with authority to control. When the parental responsibility is neglected, or when by reason of the death or incompetency of the parent, the child is left defenceless, then ordinarily the next of kin may be expected to assume the place and authority of the parent; but if kindred and immediate friends fail, then the child's right of supervision vests on society in its more public capacity. Let the defenceless be many, instead of one; let them so be multiplied that neither individuals, nor small communities in their associated action, can meet the pressing emergency, and then broader and stronger combinations are necessary; or, as the case may be, the kind and strong arm of STATE or GENERAL GOVERNMENT, is righteously called into requisition.

In advocating this *first right* of supervision—on the part of those who are incompetent of self-protection, of self-government—and this *duty* of supervision, on the part of those who are competent to exercise it, we are not to disregard the prudent care, the protection, which the benefactor owes to himself. Society owes to *itself* protection against adverse elements, within and without its bounds, as well as kindness to the feeble and the suffering cast upon its care.

Authority, to control, is often quite as essential as kindness to supply and defend. When many talk of "*human rights*," in our day, the idea is quite too prominent, that every man has a right to act out his own pleasure; a kind of liberty is advocated which is but another name for licentiousness; a kind of philanthropy is proposed which would patronize indolence, vice and crime; but the *first right* wherewith God has invested a human being, is that of supervision, coincident with suitable control, under which there may be developed those natural and moral functions, without which other rights cannot be enjoyed.

Now it has so happened, under the Providence of God, that we have here in the midst of us a very large and rapidly augmenting population whose incompetency, on

account of poverty, ignorance, inferiority of condition by reason of color, and the oppressive influence—if any please so to denominate it—of caste, has justly awakened a deep and earnest sympathy in their behalf. Here is an emergency to which the kindness and the best exertions of individuals, single-hearted, is altogether inadequate. Here, too, is a question of policy and of safety which may well engage the combined wisdom and energies of society, of the State.

It is utterly impracticable to merge the distinction, and blend the white and colored races on this continent: the antagonism is irreconcilable. Between the upper and nether stones of cheap white labor on the one hand, and the system of slave labor on the other, they must be ground to powder. In this situation *they must go down!* unless the *right* and the *duty* of supervision shall come to be felt.

Unless I misapprehend this whole matter, *here* is a cardinal principle—a *moral obligation* as well as a *political necessity*, which men ought to consider and to feel.

There is a philanthropy, so called, which spoils the subject of it: there is a care of ourselves which is brazen-hearted and sordid. The idea of supervision which I would advocate, and which may find a beautiful and practical illustration in the operation of this scheme of Colonization, is not simply the putting out of our way that which is disagreeable to us; it is not a mere getting rid of a poor, degraded population because they are burdensome; it is not the exportation of poverty, ignorance, misery and helplessness, to other shores to shift for itself as it may—to find friends or to starve; but we are actuated, as I would fain believe, by a law of *kindness* and of *prudence* which is worthy to be proclaimed abroad, and which deserves the respect and support of the entire American people—of the world. We would exercise our sympathy and our power kindly and wisely, having due regard both toward the free colored people and ourselves.

No one will contend that we are called upon, either by the dictates of wisdom or humanity, to surrender the position and power which we hold, and to change places with the colored race. The idea of a mixed race, or of a mixed government, is absurd. The plan of organizing the free colored people into a distinct political body on this continent is, if possible, yet more absurd; and yet *something must be done!*

This Society aims at the only safe, hu-

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mane and practical course. What it has attempted to do, has, thus far, been successfully and well done ; and has proved, to the full conviction of many, that, with sufficient patronage from the people at large, and from the Government, the colonization of our free colored population is completely practicable.

This American Colonization Society has undertaken, with the consent of a considerable number of colored people who have already put themselves under its care, to occupy the place of a *guardian*—A SUPERVISOR—to counsel, assist, and defend them ; they have been removed from a theatre where their inferiority of position must ever have been felt with discouraging and crushing weight ; they are now a free, happy, prosperous people ; in a climate natural to them, and where they can walk erect among equals, and say of the soil, and of the improvements, and of the government, “ *these are our own.* ”

After what has been said, so eloquently, here this evening, it is neither necessary nor in good taste for me to enlarge upon the success of this scheme of colonization. What has been accomplished is a matter of history, both in respect of the substantial good secured to the subjects of colonization themselves, and the inestimable benefits conferred on Africa.

Mr. President, I am satisfied, without further occupation of time, to have announced what I believe to be the true principle of this noble enterprise ; a principle of prudence, virtue, and humanity ; a rule of action indicated clearly by the Provi-

dence of God, and by the law of Love to the helpless who are cast upon our care.

If all, or any considerable part, of the interest and of the feverish and dangerous excitement with which the public mind is agitated, in reference to the colored people among us, could be directed into the channel of this Society's operations ; if individuals, the several States, and the General Government will but bestow their sympathies, support, and encouragement, in favor of this cause, as virtue, humanity and enlightened public policy seem to demand—then, indeed, may this Society, and through this instrumentality, the American people and Government, may become the GOEL, the DELIVERER, of an impoverished multitude at our door, and shed the light of christianity and the benefits of civilization and good government, upon one of the darkest portions of the globe.

We are reminded, by the report, of Death's doings during the last year in the ranks of the patrons and friends of the cause. We are ourselves but shadows ; our breath is in our nostrils ; these throbbing hearts within us are

“ ———— but muffled drums,  
Beating funeral marches to the tomb.”

Shall we not, then, do well to quicken our diligence ; to devote fresh energies to a cause so noble ; to endeavor to rally around it all who feel a sympathy for suffering humanity—often repeating the petition in which we have united here this evening—that God may continue to smile upon this work of our hands.

# MEMBER

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